CHINA
AND THE
ASIAN-AFRICAN
CONFERENCE

(DOCUMENTS)

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(Documents)

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Chou En-lai, Premier and leader of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, addresses the plenary session of the Asian-African Conference on April 19

Members of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China at the Conference. Front row, from right to left: Premier Chou En-lai, leader of the Delegation, interpreter, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Chang Han-fu

Premier Chou En-lai (left) and Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia, who came to meet him on his arrival at the airport of Bandung on April 17

Premier Chou En-lai (extreme left) with Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India (third from left), and U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma (extreme right)

Premier Chou En-lai and Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, and his wife

Premier Chou En-lai (extreme left) with Carlos P. Romulo, leader of the Philippine Delegation (third from right), John Kotelawala, Prime Minister and leader of the Delegation of Ceylon (second from right), and Sardar Mohammed Naim, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and leader of the Delegation of Afghanistan (extreme right)

At a banquet given by Premier Chou En-lai. Standing, from left to right: Seifel Islam Hassan, leader of the Delegation of Yemen, U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, Walid Salah, leader of the Delegation of Jordan, Ismail El Azhari, leader of the Delegation of the Sudan, Sami Solh, leader of the Delegation of Lebanon, Premier Chou En-lai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Mahmud Muntasser, leader of the Delegation of Libya, Ali A Alireza, member of the Delegation of Saudi Arabia. Sitting, from left to right: Madame Huang Chen, wife of the Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia, Amir Faisal Al Saud, leader of the Delegation of Saudi Arabia, Madame Indira Gandhi, daughter of Prime Minister Nehru

Premier Chou En-lai with Gamal Abdel Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt and leader of the Egyptian Delegation

Vice - Premier Chen Yi (left) with Sovag Jung Thapa (centre), leader of the Delegation of Nepal, and Prince Wan Waithayakon, Foreign Minister and leader of the Delegation of Thailand

Premier Chou En-lai signs for representatives of the Bandung People's Committee which is formed to support the Asian-African Conference

Premier Chou En-lai toured the city of Djakarta, during his visit to Indonesia following the Asian-African Conference. He was accompanied by President Sukarno, and received a warm welcome from the residents

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Editor's Note

From April 18 to 24, 1955, 29 Asian and African countries held a conference in Bandung, Indonesia. After thorough discussion, agreement was reached on problems of common interest and concern to the countries of Asia and Africa, particularly on problems concerning dependent peoples, the promotion of world peace and co-operation, human rights and self-determination, economic and cultural co-operation. The Conference adopted a declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

Keeping consistently to the principle of seeking common ground while reserving differences, the Chinese Delegation headed by Premier Chou En-lai, together with other participating countries, did their utmost for the success of the Conference. The efforts of the Chinese Delegation manifested China's consistent foreign policy for maintenance of world peace and friendly co-operation among all nations.

In this book are collected the speeches made by Premier Chou En-lai at the Asian-African Conference and his report on the Conference to the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. These documents will help the readers to understand the significance of the Asian-African Conference and the practical implementation of China's peaceful foreign policy.

MAIN SPEECH BY PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, DISTRIBUTED AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates:

The Asian-African Conference on which the whole world is focusing its attention has begun its session. The Delegation of the People's Republic of China deems it a great pleasure to be able to discuss the common problems of our Asian and African countries at this Conference with the delegations of the other participating countries. We must first of all thank the five sponsoring countries, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, whose initiative and efforts have made it possible for us to meet here. We should also thank the host of this Conference, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, for the excellent arrangements it has made for the Conference.

It is the first time in history that so many countries of Asia and Africa have gathered together to hold a conference. On these two continents live more than half of the world population. The peoples of Asia and Africa created brilliant ancient civilizations and made tremendous contributions to mankind. But, ever since modern

times most of the countries of Asia and Africa in varying degrees have been subjected to colonial plunder and oppression, and have thus been forced to remain in a stagnant state of poverty and backwardness. Our voices have been suppressed, our aspirations shattered, and our destiny placed in the hands of others. Thus, we have no choice but to rise against colonialism. Suffering from the same cause and struggling for the same aim, we the Asian and African peoples have found it easier to understand each other and have long had deep sympathy and concern for one another.

Now the face of the Asian-African region has undergone a radical change. More and more countries have cast off or are casting off the shackles of colonialism. The colonial powers can no longer use the methods of the past to continue their plunder and oppression. The Asia and Africa of today are no longer the Asia and Africa of yesterday. Many countries of this region have taken their destiny into their own hands after long years of endeavours. Our Conference itself reflects this profound historical change.

However, the rule of colonialism in this region has not yet come to an end, and new colonialists are attempting to take the place of the old ones. Not a few of the Asian and African peoples are still leading a life of colonial slavery. Not a few of the Asian and African peoples are still subjected to racial discrimination and deprived of human rights. The courses which we peoples of the Asian and African countries have taken in striving for freedom and independence may vary, but our will to win and preserve our freedom and indepen-

dence is the same. However different the specific conditions in each of our countries may be, it is equally necessary for most of us to eliminate the state of backwardness caused by the rule of colonialism. We need to develop our countries independently with no outside interference and in accordance with the will of the people.

The peoples of Asia and Africa have long suffered from aggression and war. Many of them have been forced by the colonialists to serve as cannon fodder in aggressive wars. Therefore, the peoples of these two continents can have nothing but strong detestation of aggressive war. They know that new threats of war will not only endanger the independent development of their countries, but also intensify the enslavement by colonialism. That is why the Asian and African peoples all the more hold dear world peace and national independence.

In view of the foregoing, the common desire of the peoples of the Asian and African countries cannot be anything other than to safeguard world peace, to win and to preserve national independence and accordingly to promote friendly co-operation among nations.

Following the armistice in Korea, the Geneva Conference brought about a cease-fire in Indo-China on the basis of respect for the right to national independence and with the support of the Conference of the five Colombo powers. As a result, international tension did somewhat relax at that time and fresh hopes were brought to the people of the whole world, and particularly to those of Asia. However, the subsequent development of the international situation runs counter to the hopes of the

people. Both in the East and in the West the danger of war is increasing. The desire of the Korean and German peoples for peaceful unification is being frustrated. The agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China reached at the Geneva Conference are endangered. The United States continues to create tension in the Taiwan area. Countries outside of Asia and Africa are establishing more and more military bases in the Asian and African countries. They are clamouring openly that atomic weapons are conventional arms and are making preparations for an atomic war. The people of Asia shall never forget that the first atomic bomb exploded on Asian soil and that the first man to die from the experimental explosion of the hydrogen bomb was an Asian. The peoples of Asia and Africa, like those in other parts of the world, cannot be indifferent to the ever-increasing threat of war.

However, those who are committing aggression and making preparations for war are after all extremely few, while the overwhelming majority of the people throughout the world, regardless of what social system they live under, want peace and are opposed to war. The peace movement of the people in different countries has become more extensive and intensive. They demand the end of the armament race and preparations for war. They demand that first of all the big powers should reach agreement on the reduction of armaments. They demand the prohibition of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. They demand that atomic energy be used for peaceful purposes in order to bring welfare to mankind. Their voices can no longer

be ignored. The policy of aggression and war is becoming more and more repugnant to the people. The plotters of war are resorting ever more frequently to threats of war as an instrument of their aggressive policy. However, threats of war can frighten into submission no one who is determined to resist. They can only place the threat-makers in a more isolated and confused position. We believe that if only we are determined to preserve peace together with all the peace-loving nations and peoples of the world, peace can be preserved.

The majority of our Asian and African countries, including China, are still very backward economically owing to the long period of colonial domination. That is why we demand not only political independence but economic independence as well. Of course, our demand for political independence does not mean a policy of exclusion towards countries outside of the Asian-African region. However, the days when the Western powers controlled our destiny are already past. The destiny of Asian and African countries should be taken into the hands of the peoples themselves. We strive to realize our own economic independence; nor does that mean the rejection of economic co-operation with any country outside of the Asian-African region. However, we want to do away with the exploitation of backward countries in the East by the colonial powers in the West and to develop the independent and sovereign economy of our own countries. Complete independence is an objective for which the great majority of Asian and African countries have to struggle for a long time.

In China, ever since the people became masters of their own country, all their efforts have been directed to the elimination of backwardness left behind by the prolonged semi-colonial society and the building of their country into an industrialized one. In the last five years we have rehabilitated the national economy ruined by long years of war, and have since 1953 started the First Five-Year Plan of economic construction. As a result of these efforts, production in all the main fields, such as iron and steel, cotton cloth and grains, have exceeded the level of any period in the history of China. But these achievements are still very small as compared with our actual needs. Our country is still very backward as compared with the highly industrialized ones. Like other countries in Asia and Africa, we are in urgent need of a peaceful international environment for the development of our independent and sovereign economy.

The Asian and African countries, opposing colonialism and defending national independence, treasure all the more their own national rights. Countries whether big or small, strong or weak, should all enjoy equal rights in international relations. Their territorial integrity and sovereignty should be respected and not violated. The people of all dependent countries should enjoy the right of national self-determination, and should not be subjected to persecution and slaughter. People irrespective of race or colour should all enjoy the fundamental human rights and not be subjected to any maltreatment and discrimination. However, we cannot help being aware that the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and other dependent peoples who have been fighting for independence

have never ceased to be suppressed with violence. Racial discrimination and persecution under racialism in the Union of South Africa and other places have not yet been curbed. The problem of Arab refugees of Palestine still remains to be solved.

One should say that now the common desire of the awakened countries and peoples of Asia and Africa is to oppose racial discrimination and to demand fundamental human rights, to oppose colonialism and to demand for national independence, to firmly defend their own territorial integrity and sovereignty. The struggle of the Egyptian people for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Suez Canal Zone, the struggle of the Iranian people for the restoration of sovereignty over their petroleum resources, and the demand for the restoration of the territorial rights of India over Goa and of Indonesia over West Irian, have all won sympathy from many countries in Asia and Africa. China's will to liberate her own territory Taiwan has likewise won the support of all righteous people in the Asian-African region. This proves that the peoples of our Asian and African countries understand each other and have sympathy and concern for one another.

Peace can only be safeguarded by mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Encroachment on the sovereignty and territory of any country and the interference in the internal affairs of any country will inevitably endanger peace. If nations give assurances not to commit aggression against each other, conditions will be created in international relations for peaceful coexistence. If nations give assurances not to

interfere in each other's internal affairs, it will then be possible for the people of these countries to choose their own political system and way of life in accordance with their own will. The agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China were reached at the Geneva Conference precisely on the basis of the assurance of the parties concerned to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Indo-Chinese states and not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of these states. Accordingly, the Geneva agreements provide that the Indo-Chinese states shall not join any military alliance and that no foreign military bases should be established in these states. That explains why the Geneva Conference was able to create favourable conditions for the establishment of an area of peace. But after the Geneva Conference, we witnessed a development in the opposite direction. This is not in the interest of the Indo-Chinese states, nor is it in the interest of peace. We hold that the Geneva agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China should be strictly and faithfully carried out. No interference or obstruction from any quarter should be allowed. The question of peaceful unification of Korea should also be solved in accordance with the same principles.

We Asian and African countries need to co-operate in the economic and cultural fields in order to facilitate the elimination of the economic and cultural backwardness caused by the long period of colonial exploitation and oppression. This co-operation should be based on equality and mutual benefit, with no conditions for priv-

ilege attached. The trade relations and economic co-operation between us should have for its purpose the promotion of the independent economic development in each country, and not to convert any country into a sole producer of raw materials and a market for consumer goods. Our cultural exchange should have respect for the development of the national culture of each country, and not to ignore the characteristics and special merits of the culture of any country so that we may learn and benefit from each other.

Today when the peoples of Asia and Africa are increasingly taking their destiny into their own hands, even though the present economic and cultural co-operation among ourselves cannot yet be of a very large scale, it can be definitely said that this co-operation based on equality and mutual benefit will have a great future. We are convinced that with the advancement of industrialization of our countries and the raising of our peoples' standards of living, and with the elimination of artificial trade barriers placed between us from without, trade intercourse and economic co-operation among the Asian and African countries will become ever closer, and cultural interflow will be ever more frequent.

By following the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems can be realized. When these principles are ensured of implementation, there is no reason why international disputes cannot be settled through negotiation.

In the interest of defending world peace, we Asian and African countries, which are more or less under similar circumstances, should be the first to co-operate with one another in a friendly manner and put peaceful co-existence into practice. The discord and estrangement created among the Asian and African countries by colonial rule in the past should no longer be there. We Asian and African countries should respect one another, and eliminate any suspicion and fear which may exist between us.

The Government of the People's Republic of China fully agrees to the aims of the Asian-African Conference as defined by the prime ministers of the five South Asian countries in the Joint Communique of the Bogor Conference. We hold that in order to promote world peace and co-operation, the countries of Asia and Africa should first of all, in line with their common interest, seek goodwill and co-operation among themselves and establish friendly and neighbourly relations. India, Burma and China have affirmed the five principles of peaceful coexistence as the guiding principles in their mutual relations. These principles have received support from more and more countries. Following these principles, China and Indonesia have already achieved good results in their preliminary talks on the question of the nationality of the citizens of one country residing in the other. During the Geneva Conference, China also expressed its readiness to develop friendly relations with the Indo-Chinese states on the basis of these five principles. There is no reason why the relations between China and Thailand, the Philippines and other neighbouring coun-

tries cannot be improved on the basis of these five principles. China is ready to establish normal relations with other Asian and African countries on the basis of the strict adherence to these principles and is willing to promote the normalization of relations between China and Japan. In order to promote mutual understanding and co-operation among us, we propose that the governments, parliaments and people's organizations of the Asian and African countries make friendly visits to each other's countries.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates, gone for ever are the days when the destiny of the Asian and African peoples was manipulated at will by others. We believe that if we are determined to preserve world peace, no one can drag us into war; if we are determined to strive for and safeguard our national independence, no one can continue to enslave us; if we are determined to enter into friendly co-operation, no one can split us.

What we Asian and African countries want are peace and independence. It is not our intention to make Asian and African countries antagonistic to countries in other regions. We want just as well the establishment of peaceful and co-operative relations with countries in other regions.

This meeting of ours was not easily brought about. Though there are among us many different views, they should not influence the common desires that we all hold. Our Conference ought to give expression to our common desires and thus make itself a treasured page in the history of Asia and Africa. At the same time, the contact that has been established by us through this Con-

ference should be maintained in order that we may make greater contributions to world peace.

As His Excellency President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia has rightly said, we Asians and Africans must be united.

Let us greet in advance the success of our Conference.

(April 19, 1955)

SUPPLEMENTARY SPEECH BY PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates:

My main speech has been mimeographed and is being distributed to you. After listening to the speeches delivered by the heads of many delegations, I would like to make some supplementary remarks.

The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel. We Communists do not hide the fact that we believe in communism and that we consider socialist system a good system. There is no need at this Conference to publicize one's ideology and the political system of one's country, although differences do exist among us.

The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create divergence. Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be very easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support,

instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism. That is why we agree to the four purposes of the Asian-African Conference declared by the prime ministers of the five countries at the Bogor Conference and do not make any other proposal.

As for the tension created solely by the United States in the area of Taiwan, we could have submitted for deliberation by the Conference an item such as the proposal made by the Soviet Union for seeking a settlement through an international conference. The will of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory Taiwan and the coastal islands is a just one. It is entirely a matter of our internal affairs and the exercise of our sovereignty. This just demand of ours has won the support of many countries. Again, we could have submitted for deliberation by the Conference the question of recognizing and restoring the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Bogor Conference held by the prime ministers of the five Colombo powers last year supported the restoration of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. And so did other countries of Asia and Africa. Besides, we could have also made criticisms here as regards the unfair treatment of China by the United Nations. But we did not do all this, because otherwise our Conference would be dragged into disputes about all these problems without any solution.

In our Conference we should seek common ground among us, while keeping our differences. As to our common ground, the Conference should affirm all our common desires and demands. This is our main task here.

As to our differences, none of us is asked to give up his own views, because difference in viewpoints is an objective reality. But we should not let our differences hinder us from achieving agreement as far as our main task is concerned. On the basis of our common points, we should try to understand and appreciate the different views that we hold.

Now first of all I would like to talk about the question of different ideologies and social systems. We have to admit that among our Asian and African countries, we do have different ideologies and different social systems. But this does not prevent us from seeking common ground and being united. Many independent countries have appeared since the Second World War. One group of them are countries led by the Communist Parties; another group of them are countries led by nationalists. There are not many countries in the first group. But what some people dislike is the fact that the 600 million Chinese people have chosen a political system which is socialist in nature and led by the Chinese Communist Party and that the Chinese people are no longer under the rule of the imperialists. The countries in the second group are greater in number, such as India, Burma, Indonesia and many other countries in Asia and Africa. Both of these groups of countries have become independent of the colonial rule and are still continuing their struggle for complete independence. Is there any reason why we cannot understand and respect each other and give support and sympathy to each other? There is every reason to make the five principles the basis for establishing friendly co-operation and good

neighbourly relations among us. We Asian and African countries, China included, are all backward economically and culturally. Inasmuch as our Asian-African Conference does not exclude anybody, why couldn't we ourselves understand each other and enter into friendly co-operation?

Secondly, I would like to talk about the question as to whether there is freedom of religious belief. Freedom of religious belief is a principle recognized by all modern nations. We Communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief. We hope that those with religious belief will also respect those without. China is a country where there is freedom of religious belief. There are, in China, not only seven million Communists, but also tens of millions of Moslems and Buddhists and millions of Protestants and Catholics. Here in the Chinese Delegation, there is a pious Imam of the Islamic faith. Such a situation is no obstacle to the internal unity of China. Why should it be impossible in the community of Asian and African countries to unite those with religious belief and those without? The days of instigating religious strife should have passed, because those who profit from instigating such strife are not those among us.

Thirdly, I would like to talk about the question of so-called subversive activities. The struggle of the Chinese people against colonialism lasted for more than a hundred years. The national and democratic revolutionary struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party finally achieved success only after a strenuous and difficult course of 30 years. It is impossible to relate all

the sufferings of the Chinese people under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and Chiang Kai-shek. At last, the Chinese people have chosen their state system and present government. It is by the efforts of the Chinese people that the Chinese revolution has won its victory. It is certainly not imported from without. This point cannot be denied even by those who do not like the victory of the Chinese revolution. As a Chinese proverb says: "Do not do unto others what you yourself do not desire." We are against outside interference; how could we want to interfere in the internal affairs of others? Some people say: There are more than 10 million overseas Chinese whose dual nationality might be taken advantage of to carry out subversive activities. But the problem of dual nationality is something left behind by old China. Up to date, Chiang Kai-shek is still using some very few overseas Chinese to carry out subversive activities against the countries where they are residing. The People's Government of New China, however, is ready to solve the problem of dual nationality of overseas Chinese with the governments of the countries concerned. Some other people say that the autonomous region of Tai people in China is a threat to others. There are in China more than 40 million national minorities of scores of nationalities. The Tai people and the Chuang people who are of the same stock as the Tai people, number almost 10 million. Since they do exist, we must grant them the right of autonomy. Just as there is an autonomous state for Shan people in Burma, every national minority in China has its autonomous region. The national minorities in China exercise their right of

autonomy within China, how could that be said as being a threat to our neighbours? On the basis of the strict adherence to the five principles, we are prepared now to establish normal relations with all the Asian and African countries, with all the countries in the world, and first of all, with our neighbouring countries. The problem at present is not that we are carrying out subversive activities against the governments of other countries, but that there are people who are establishing bases around China in order to carry out subversive activities against the Chinese Government. For instance, on the border between China and Burma, there are in fact remnant armed elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are carrying out destructive activities against both China and Burma. Because of the friendly relations between China and Burma, and because we have always respected the sovereignty of Burma, we have confidence in the Government of Burma for the solution of this problem.

The Chinese people have chosen and support their own government. There is freedom of religious belief in China. China has no intention whatsoever to subvert the governments of its neighbouring countries. On the contrary, it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are openly carried out without any disguise by the United States of America. Those who do not believe in this may come to China or send someone there to see for themselves. We take cognizance of the fact that there are doubts in the mind of those who do not yet know the truth. There is a saying in China: "Better seeing once than hearing a hundred

times." We welcome the delegates of all the participating countries in this Conference to visit China at any time they like. We have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smokescreen between us.

The 1,600 million people of Asia and Africa wish our Conference success. All the countries and peoples of the world who desire peace are looking forward to the contribution which the Conference will make towards the extension of the area of peace and the establishment of collective peace. Let us, the Asian and African countries, be united and do our utmost to make the Asian-African Conference a success.

(April 19, 1955)

STATEMENT BY PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON THE SITUATION IN THE TAIWAN AREA*

"The Chinese people are friendly to the American people.

"The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East, and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area."

(April 23, 1955)

*Premier Chou En-lai made this statement at a meeting of the heads of the delegations of Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand to the Asian-African Conference in the afternoon of April 23, discussing the question of reducing tension in the Far East and especially in the Taiwan area.

SPEECH BY PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Honourable Chairman, Distinguished Delegates:

Our Conference has made achievements. On behalf of the Chinese Delegation, I would first like to offer thanks to the five Colombo powers for their initiative in sponsoring this Conference, to our hosts, the President, the people and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, for their warm hospitality, to the Chairman of our Conference, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, for his efforts, to all the delegations for their co-operation, and to the Joint Secretariat of the Conference and all those who have taken part in the work of the Conference for their valuable contribution.

The achievements of the Conference lie in the fact that understanding among Asian and African countries has made a good start or has been further promoted and that agreements on some major issues have been brought about in this Conference. These achievements will be of great help to our common task of opposing colonialism, safeguarding world peace and promoting friendly co-operation among us. This Conference has to a considerable extent satisfied the aspirations of the peoples of Asia and Africa and of the world.

This Conference has also reflected the fact that our approaches to and our views on many questions are different. We have also discussed in part our differences. However, such different approaches and views did not prevent us from achieving common agreements. We have been able to make achievements in opposing colonialism, safeguarding world peace, and promoting political, economic and cultural co-operation because we peoples of the Asian and African countries share the same fate and the same desires. For the same reason, I would like to declare once again that the Chinese people extend their full sympathy and support to the struggle of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia for self-determination and independence, to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for human rights, to the struggle of the Indonesian people for the restoration of Indonesia's sovereignty over West Irian, and to the just struggle waged by all the peoples of Asia and Africa to shake off colonial oppression and win national independence and the people's freedom.

I wish to point out further that the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation adopted by the Conference will help to relax international tension and, above all, the tension in the Far East. It is our view that full implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China should be guaranteed by the parties concerned. The peaceful unification of Korea should speedily be sought by the parties concerned through negotiation. China and the United States should sit down and enter into negotiations to settle the question of relaxing and eliminating the ten-

sion in the Taiwan area; though, of course this should in no way affect the Chinese people's just demand for the exercise of their sovereign rights in liberating Taiwan.

Finally, I hope that the contacts among the Asian and African countries and the friendly intercourse among our peoples will become more frequent from now on.

I wish all the delegates good health and a happy voyage home.

(April 24, 1955)

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S REPORT ON THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Made at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

In December 1954, the Prime Ministers of the five countries, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, at the Bogor Conference jointly sponsored the convening of the Asian-African Conference and invited 25 Asian and African countries, including the People's Republic of China, to take part in it. With the exception of the Central African Federation all the remaining 24 countries accepted this invitation.

On April 11, 1955, while on their way to the Asian-African Conference, the staff members of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China: Shih Chih-ang, Li Chao-chi and Chung Pu-yun; Chinese correspondents, Shen Chien-tu, Hwang Tso-mei, Tu Hung, Li Ping and Ho Feng-ke; staff member of the Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Vuong Minh Phuong; Polish correspondent, Jeremi Starec; Austrian correspondent, Fredrick Jensen; and crew members and personnel of the Air India International were murdered by Chiang Kai-shek secret agents. We express our

deep condolences to the martyrs and our sympathy and concern for their families.

The Asian-African Conference was held in Bandung, Indonesia, from April 18 to 24, 1955. With the well-planned arrangements of the Government of Indonesia, inspired by the opening speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Dr. Sukarno and with the unanimous agreement of the participating countries, this Conference completed its historic task, issued its final communique and a Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation, and defined the line and objectives which the participating countries would jointly strive after.

Now I am going to report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the proceedings and results of the Asian-African Conference.

I

The convening of the Asian-African Conference has important historic significance. This Conference was held by the Asian and African countries, which ardently hope to control their own destinies, without the participation of the Western colonial powers. It reflected the common desires and demands of the Asian and African peoples who make up more than one half of the world's total population.

In the past few centuries the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples in Asia and Africa have suffered, and still are suffering from the disasters

and pains brought about by colonialism. Today there are not a few Asian and African peoples who still live the life of colonial slaves and who still suffer from the persecution through racial discrimination. Moreover for all those Asian and African countries which have already attained independence there is still the need for protracted efforts to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness resulting from colonial rule. The Asian and African peoples have long suffered from the misery of war and many Asian and African countries are now the first victims of the new war preparations by the colonialists. In order to uproot these evils of colonialism, carry out their economic construction and raise the standards of living of their own peoples, the peoples of the Asian and African countries have urgent need for a peaceful international environment, and they realize more and more the necessity for mutual support and assistance. Therefore, opposition to colonialism and striving for and safeguarding national independence, opposition to aggressive war and upholding world peace, and the promotion of friendly co-operation of the Asian and African countries on these bases, form the common desires and demands of the peoples of the Asian and African countries.

The principles underlying the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China are the defence of its national independence, freedom, sovereign rights and territorial integrity, supporting a lasting international peace and friendly co-operation among the peoples of all countries, and opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression and war. These principles are at one with the common

desires and demands of the peoples of the Asian and African countries.

There is no need to avoid mentioning the differences in the social systems among the Asian and African countries. Nevertheless, the existence of such differences can never negate the common experience and situation of these countries, their common desires and demands, nor can it preclude the possibility that on these common bases these countries can have mutual understanding, respect, sympathy and support.

The People's Republic of China consistently maintains that the peoples of all countries have the right to choose their own political beliefs and social systems free from any foreign interference. At the same time we hold that countries having different social systems can coexist in peace. The Asian-African Conference was convened for the purpose of promoting goodwill and co-operation among the Asian and African countries, exploring and advancing their mutual and common interests and establishing and promoting friendly and neighbourly relations among them. We held that the Asian-African Conference should positively affirm and express the desires and demands common to the countries and peoples in Asia and Africa, and should not fall into disputes about social systems and ideologies. It was in pursuance of this spirit of seeking common ground and reserving differences that the Delegation of the People's Republic of China worked together with other participating countries for the success of the Asian-African Conference.

During the course of the Asian-African Conference, there were, indeed, delegates of some countries who raised questions concerning social systems and ideologies and voiced political views and interpretations with which many countries could not agree. Had the disputes about these questions and views been allowed to go on, it would have widened the divergencies among the participating countries and would have yielded no results at all. This was precisely what was desired by those who disliked this Conference. We held that we could not make the Conference a failure in conformity with the desires of such people. Therefore, we adopted the attitude of striving for unity and avoiding quarrels and seeking common ground instead of stressing divergencies. Apart from replies having bearings on principles which it was necessary to give, we did not open up disputes. The majority of the participating countries likewise maintained the same spirit of seeking common ground and reserving differences. Thus, the participating countries to the Asian-African Conference eventually reached unanimous agreement on the various questions on the agenda, and schemes to obstruct the Conference failed.

II

Opposition to colonialism and the striving for and safeguarding of national independence was a basic question for the Asian-African Conference.

What is colonialism? This is something quite familiar to the Asian and African peoples who have suffered pro-

foundly from the scourge of colonialism. Nothing can show more clearly the essence of colonialism than the colonial rule practised by the Western colonial powers in Asia and Africa in the past few hundred years. Colonialism is a product of capitalism. Both colonies and semi-colonies are countries which have been deprived of their sovereignty in varying degrees as a result of aggression by foreign capitalist countries. Colonial and semi-colonial nations are those which have been deprived of their independence as a result of foreign colonial rule and oppression. The essence of colonialism is the plunder and exploitation practised by capitalist countries against the backward countries, the transformation of the latter into the former's monopolized markets, sources of raw material, places of investment, and their military strategic bases. This prevents the development of the productive power of the backward countries and keeps these countries in protracted stagnation, extreme poverty and bankruptcy. Colonialism is quite incompatible with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, national independence and equality and mutual benefit. In this connection, no objection was raised by the participating countries. Colonialism was understood in this sense by the people of the continents of Asia and Africa. In fact, colonialism can only be understood in this sense.

It is natural that no dispute should have arisen at the Asian-African Conference in discussing the question of opposition to colonialism. However, during the course of discussion on opposition to colonialism there were certain persons who for ulterior motives strangely distorted

colonialism. Because the evils caused by the Western colonial rule practised in Asia and Africa in the past few hundred years can never be erased, these persons went to the length of using the term so-called colonialism of all forms in order to slander socialism as another form of colonialism. This was an attempt to confuse the objective of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against colonialism. Nevertheless, it is well known to us that socialist countries, having overthrown capitalism in their own countries, have thus destroyed the basis for preserving or giving rise to colonialism in these countries. The relationship among the socialist countries is entirely a kind of relationship based on respect for each other's sovereign rights and national independence. It is a new kind of relationship among nations, based on equality and mutual assistance to work for common economic growth. The control of one state by another has nothing in common at all with the system and policy of the socialist countries. One may like or dislike certain social systems, but views and interpretations contrary to the truth could not be accepted by the Conference. Prime Minister Nehru rightly said on April 30, 1955, in his report to the House of People of India: "Such views could not become part of any formulation on behalf of the Conference."

Thanks to the joint efforts of many delegations to the Conference, the Asian-African Conference finally reached unanimous agreement on the various questions on opposing colonialism and striving for and safeguarding national independence.

In the Resolution on Human Rights and Self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the fundamental principles of human rights and the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the United Nations Charter. The Resolution condemned the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination in Africa and other parts of the world. It supported all struggles against racial discrimination especially the struggle waged by the peoples of African, Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa.

In the Resolution on the Problems of Dependent Peoples, the Asian-African Conference declared that colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. The phrase "in all its manifestations" here denotes colonialism in its political, military, economic, cultural, and social manifestations and there cannot possibly be any other interpretation. The Asian-African Conference supported the cause of freedom and independence for all dependent peoples, especially the fight for self-determination and independence of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

In the Resolution on Other Problems, the Asian-African Conference supported the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, the position of the Indonesian people in the case of West Irian and the position of Yemen in the case of Aden and the southern parts of Yemen.

It is certain that colonialism will be rooted out in the Asian and African countries and other countries of the world. But we must take note that colonial powers in Europe are still struggling and that the colonial power

in the Americas is even more rapacious. The country which is now most active in preparing for a world war is the most ambitious colonial power. The threat of new war will inevitably bring to Asia and Africa the new threat of colonial aggression. Undoubtedly, the struggle against colonial aggression by the Chinese people together with other peoples in Asia and Africa will be helpful to the great cause of opposing war and defending of peace by the people throughout the world.

III

The Asian-African Conference considered with great concern the question of peace and war and held that ways and means should be found to ease the current international tension and avert the danger of an atomic world war. On this account, the Asian-African Conference adopted the Resolution and Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation, affirming the common desires of the Asian and African peoples to oppose aggressive war and uphold world peace. The Conference urged effective measures for disarmament and the prohibition of the production, testing and use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, so that nuclear energy could be used entirely for peaceful purposes. The Conference demanded that membership of the United Nations should be universal.

The Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation adopted by the Asian-African Conference fully embodies the five principles of peaceful coexistence

jointly advocated by China, India and Burma. Owing to the fact that some people had different views on the wording of "peaceful coexistence," the Conference used in its declaration the phraseology "live together in peace" used in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. In actual fact, for countries of different social systems to live together in peace is the same as peaceful coexistence.

The Declaration sets forward ten principles as the basis for living together in peace and friendly co-operation between the countries concerned. Of these, the five principles of "Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations," "Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country," "Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country," "Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small" and "Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation," are exactly similar to the four of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, namely: "Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty," "Non-aggression," "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs" and "Equality and mutual benefit."

The Declaration also provides in its ten principles respect for fundamental human rights, for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for justice and international obligations, and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. All of these

are what the Chinese people consistently stand for and are principles which China has consistently observed.

The fifth principle of the Declaration provides "Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations." According to the Charter of the United Nations, the right of any country to arise in self-defence, individually or collectively, in the event of aggression by an armed attack is the right which cannot be deprived of. Nevertheless, the organization of aggressive military blocs in the name of collective self-defence and their use as instruments to control small countries by large cannot in any way be permitted. Therefore, the sixth principle of the Declaration provides at the same time "Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers," and "Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries."

It must be considered that there are people—and some of them have already tried—who will avail themselves of the provision of the Declaration regarding the right to collective defence to justify the many aggressive military blocs. This justification, however, holds no water at all.

The provision of the Declaration regarding the right to self-defence was based on the U.N. Charter. Article 51 of the U.N. Charter clearly provides that the right of self-defence, whether singly or collectively, can be exercised only when one encounters armed attacks. More concrete provisions regarding regional arrangements can be found in Chapter 8 of the U.N. Charter. It is widely known that when certain big powers organized the aggres-

sive military blocs, NATO, SEATO, etc., not only were they free from armed attacks but also there was no threat of any armed attack against them. On the contrary, the Manila treaty was signed at a time when peace in Southeast Asia was ensured by the Geneva Agreement. Therefore, there was no reason for the country which engineered this treaty to talk about the so-called threat of armed attack. In reality, both NATO and SEATO have been formed to prepare aggressive wars in the guise of collective self-defence. Aggressive military blocs of this character are utterly against the U.N. Charter provisions.

The Declaration of the Asian-African Conference cannot be used to defend the many aggressive military blocs. On the contrary, it is firmly opposed to the formation of these blocs. The sixth principle of the Declaration provides "Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers" and "Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries." These provisions are actually a denunciation of this kind of aggressive military bloc. For, it is universal knowledge that certain big powers have dragged small countries into NATO and SEATO, which they established, for the sole purpose of obtaining manpower and ensuring the setting up of new military spring-boards and bases, as well as to place the small countries in a subordinate position politically and economically. The Egyptian Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser rightly said in Calcutta on April 27, 1955 that the defence system of any given area should be "inspired by the people of that area," and "participation of West-

ern Powers in a Middle-East defence organization would be interpreted as colonialism."

It is our view that the ten principles in the Declaration of the Asian-African Conference are an extension and development of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. They have once again pointed out the direction for the countries which desire peaceful coexistence. These ten principles do not exclude any country. The Government of the People's Republic of China is willing to establish normal relations, and to live together in peace and co-operate in friendship with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles unanimously agreed upon at the Asian-African Conference.

IV

In order to promote friendly relations among the Asian and African countries, the Asian-African Conference also adopted resolutions concerning economic and cultural co-operation.

Owing to their economic backwardness, most of the Asian and African countries, for a long period of time, had to receive so-called aid from countries outside the Asian-African area under unequal and cruel terms. Now this situation has begun to change. The resolution of the Asian-African Conference concerning economic co-operation does not exclude co-operation between Asian and African countries and countries outside the Asian-

African area, but emphasizes the importance of co-operation among Asian and African countries themselves.

In their economic intercourse with the backward countries, the colonial powers always seek to secure various kinds of special privileges. These privileges are, in actuality, manifestations of colonialism. Therefore, such economic intercourse can only worsen the stagnation and impoverishment of the backward countries, and is no aid at all in the true sense of the word.

Economic co-operation as advocated by the Asian-African Conference is different. The Asian-African Conference held that economic co-operation should be carried out on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect for national sovereignty. Though the scope of such co-operation cannot be very extensive, for the time being, the important point is that the Asian and African countries are now able to start mutual help, and there is not the slightest doubt that such mutual help has great prospects of development. It is true that there exist generally in most of the Asian and African countries such problems as lack of capital and technique. But capital can be accumulated and technique acquired. The most essential thing in this respect is for these countries to develop their own production and rely on their own efforts. This is why economic co-operation among Asian and African countries should first be based on mutual help and the development of each country's own production. And on the basis of developing production, capital can be accumulated and technique improved.

The economic relations between the Soviet Union and China are an example of this new type of economic co-

operation. The basis of this co-operation is mutual assistance and the sincere desire for common economic advancement. China is willing to co-operate with all Asian and African countries economically and ask no special privileges. Of all Asian and African countries, Japan is industrially more developed than the others. If it will give up its old practice of colonialism, Japan, too, can provide technical assistance to other countries in Asia and Africa. Economic co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit does not exclude anyone.

The resolution of the Asian-African Conference on cultural co-operation condemns colonialism and racialism for their suppression of the national cultures of the Asian and African peoples and obstruction of cultural intercourse between the Asian and African countries. It affirms the common desire of the Asian and African peoples to renew old cultural contacts and develop new cultural exchange between the Asian and African countries.

Long colonial rule has impaired the self-confidence of the Asian and African peoples. Furthermore, through the divide-and-rule policy colonialism has deliberately created mutual suspicion between many Asian and African countries. The sense of inferiority and mistrust thus produced are evidently beneficial only to the colonialists and not to the Asian and African countries and peoples. Without doubt the determination of the participating countries in the Asian-African Conference to work for still closer cultural co-operation will be decidedly helpful to the enhancement of the national consciousness and self-confidence of the Asian and African peoples.

V

At the Asian-African Conference, China gave support to the just struggle of the peoples in Asia and Africa to win national independence and safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the same time, the demand of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory Taiwan and to restore China's legitimate status in the United Nations also won the support of many Asian and African countries and peoples. But at the Conference we put forward no proposals either against the occupation of Taiwan by the United States and its creation of tensions in the Taiwan area or for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her legitimate status in the United Nations; for we did not want to see the Asian-African Conference bogged down in disputes and antagonisms on these two questions as a result of outside pressure. At the Conference we made clear China's solemn stand on these two questions, to which no participating countries put forward any opposing views.

Outside the Conference, the Chinese Delegation also held talks with the heads of the Delegations of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand, and discussed the question of easing tension in the Far East, particularly in the Taiwan area. During the talks, we further explained China's stand on the Taiwan question. Taiwan is China's territory, the people living in Taiwan are Chinese people, and the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people is a question of China's domestic affair. The United States occupation of Taiwan has created tension in the Taiwan area and this

constitutes an international issue between China and the United States. The two questions cannot be mixed up. There is no war between China and the United States, so the question of a so-called cease-fire does not arise. The Chinese people are friendly with the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States. To ease tension in the Taiwan area, the Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government. As to the form of negotiations, the Chinese Government supports the Soviet proposal for a ten-power conference and is also willing to consider other forms. However, no negotiations should in the slightest degree affect the Chinese people's exercise of their own sovereign rights—their just demand and action to liberate Taiwan. At the same time, the Chinese Government can at no time agree to participation by the Chiang Kai-shek clique in any international conference. The Chinese people have two possible means to liberate Taiwan, namely, by war or by peaceful means. The Chinese people are willing to strive for the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means so far as it is possible.

After the talks, the Chinese Delegation made a statement on the relaxation of tension in the Far East, especially in the Taiwan area. At the closing session of the Asian-African Conference, we reiterated our stand on the Taiwan question. Our statement received warm welcome and support from the participating countries and from world opinion. At present, to relax tension through negotiations in the Far East, especially in the Taiwan area, is daily becoming the unanimous demand of the

nations and peoples who are concerned about world peace. But the United States is still taking an evasive and equivocal stand towards this demand.

The Chinese people consistently support the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Chinese people are always opposed to United States' actions in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Many United Nations resolutions were adopted under the manipulation of the United States, and at the same time the Chinese People's Republic has been deprived of its legitimate place in the United Nations. Therefore, we undertake no obligations towards the resolutions of the United Nations. We are always firmly opposed to the United Nations resolutions which go against the United Nations Charter and are totally unjust. This is always our stand towards the United Nations. Though at this Asian-African Conference we did not criticize the unjust treatment of China by the United Nations, we did not conceal our views.

At the Asian-African Conference the Chinese Delegation supported the principle that membership of the United Nations should be universal and the view that the distribution of the non-permanent seats on the Security Council should take into account the Asian and African countries. We endorsed the admission into the United Nations of the participants in the Asian-African Conference which are qualified for membership. This is in conformity with the United Nations Charter and beneficial to the cause of peace. As for the People's Republic of China, it is a question of restoring its legitimate place in the United Nations, and not a question of acquiring

membership. These two questions certainly cannot be mixed.

Now, the United Nations has not taken action as it should against the behaviour of the United States in violation of the United Nations Charter. The legitimate place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is still unrestored. Many nations in the world have still not yet been admitted into the United Nations. This cannot but greatly weaken the role which the United Nations Organization should play in international affairs. In order that the United Nations Organization may conduct its work effectively, we consider that such unjustifiable phenomena must be speedily corrected; that the United Nations Charter should be respected by all nations; that the legitimate place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be quickly restored; and that membership of the United Nations should be universal.

VI

The Asian-African Conference provided the participating countries with a rare chance for mutual contacts. This was a conference without the participation of any Western colonial powers, and the Asian and African countries could contact one another freely. Such face-to-face contacts have promoted mutual understanding and respect between the Asian and African countries and played no small part in the friendly co-operation between them and in the cause of safeguarding world peace.

Among the contacts outside the Conference, the head of the Chinese Delegation, together with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, took part in the talk between the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Kingdom of Laos. As a result of this talk, a joint statement was issued by Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and Katay Sasorith, Premier of the Kingdom of Laos, to the effect that Viet-Nam and Laos will develop relations between them on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. This statement will contribute to the thorough implementation of the agreements of the Geneva Conference and in the consolidation of peace in Indo-China.

During the Asian-African Conference, on behalf of my government, I signed with the Government of the Republic of Indonesia the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality. The question of dual nationality of overseas Chinese is a complex and difficult question left over from the past. It is of great significance that this question was reasonably settled during the Asian-African Conference. The signing of the Treaty not only increases the friendship between the peoples of China and Indonesia, but serves as an example for settling questions of dual nationality of overseas Chinese by our country and other Southeast Asian countries. Some people say that there are over ten million overseas Chinese whose dual nationality might be taken advantage of for carrying out subversive activities. Nevertheless, it is the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has made use of the dual nationality of overseas Chinese to conduct subversive activities in

Indonesia, and not the People's Republic of China. Prime Minister U Nu of Burma said to the correspondent of the American magazine *Newsweek* on April 26, 1955 that he was convinced that China had no territorial ambitions, its greatest desire was to have peace. We officially declared at the Asian-African Conference that China had no intention whatsoever to subvert the governments of its neighbouring countries. On the contrary, it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are carried out without any disguise by the United States of America.

After the Asian-African Conference, I and the other members of the Chinese Delegation visited the Republic of Indonesia at the invitation of the Indonesian Government. We were heartily received by the Government and people of Indonesia. Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia and I issued a joint statement. This visit strengthened the understanding between the Governments of China and Indonesia and furthered the friendship between the people of the two countries.

We are willing to extend our contacts with the Asian and African countries. At the same time we do not refuse intercourse with the Western countries, and proposed to sit down with the United States Government and enter into negotiations to seek a relaxation of tensions in the Taiwan area. But there are people who not only fear to have their own contacts with China but also want to prevent the Asian and African countries from having contacts with us. They attempt to set up a smokescreen between China and the other Asian and African countries. China and many Asian and African

countries have established preliminary mutual understandings as a result of direct contacts during the Asian-African Conference. The Prime Minister of Indonesia, the Minister for Religious Foundations of Egypt, the Prime Minister of Ceylon and the Prime Minister of Pakistan have decided to visit our country. In addition, outstanding figures of other countries plan to visit China. At the Conference, the Chinese Delegation invited the delegates of all other participating countries to visit China. To those outstanding figures of the Asian and African countries who have decided to or are planning to visit China, we extend our warm welcome.

VII

The Asian-African Conference made important achievements. Its resolutions are imbued with the common desires of the peoples of Asia and Africa to strive for and uphold independence and freedom, safeguard world peace and promote friendly co-operation. The participating countries without exception regard the resolutions as of historic significance. The importance of these resolutions should not be underrated. Their influence will continuously expand as the peoples of Asia and Africa exert their efforts.

The Conference strengthened the national consciousness of the Asian and African peoples, advanced mutual understanding between the nations of Asia and Africa, and opened up a new road to international co-operation. On the basis of the proposals of the Chinese Delegation,

the Conference also decided to consider the convening of the next meeting of the Asian-African Conference by the five sponsoring countries in consultation with the participating countries. Friendly co-operation among the governments and peoples of Asia and Africa will increasingly become a factor playing an important role in international affairs.

The colonialists attempt to continue to hold in hand the destiny of the Asian and African peoples, and prevent them from solving their own questions by themselves. But that age is gone. The Asian-African Conference showed that the peoples of Asia and Africa are taking their own destiny into their own hands.

The colonialists attempted to split and separate the Asian-African countries and obstruct the holding of the Asian-African Conference. But facts proved that mutual approaches among Asian-African countries could not be prevented.

The colonialists attempted to deepen the divergences among Asian and African countries so as to prevent the Asian-African Conference from reaching any agreement. But facts proved that the Asian and African countries were able to arrive at unanimous agreement, based on the Asian and African peoples' common desires and demands.

Again, the colonialists attempted to distort the resolutions of the Asian-African Conference and negate the achievements of the Conference. But such attempts were doomed to failure. All the resolutions of the Asian-African Conference can only be interpreted in accordance with their original meaning, and distortions cannot be

permitted. Peace, independence, freedom and friendship have already become the common banner of the Asian and African peoples. No one can mar or deface it.

Peace-loving people the world over and all oppressed nations welcome the convening of the Asian-African Conference and its achievements. The Soviet Union, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of Mongolia and other peace-loving countries gave warm support to the Asian-African Conference. The Asian-African Conference inspired all oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world in their fight for independence and freedom.

The result of the Asian-African Conference is positively helpful to the relaxation of international tension and safeguarding of world peace. As Prime Minister Nehru said in the Indian House of the People on April 30, 1955: "It presented no unfriendly challenge or hostility to anyone but proclaimed a new and rich contribution." Yet we cannot forget that the forces of war will definitely refuse to stand aside to see the development of the cause of peace; nor will they stand idly by to allow the expansion of the influence of the Asian-African Conference. We cannot fail to take notice of the fact that the United States has not stopped its provocations against the Chinese people. Shortly after the close of the Asian-African Conference, U.S. military aircraft flagrantly intruded into Chinese territorial air. At the same time, the United States is intensifying its activities in the preparation for new wars in the Taiwan area, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and other parts of the world. All this serve to

remind us that the struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of war is protracted and continuous. Any illusions or relaxation of efforts are not permissible. The achievements of the Asian-African Conference are still to be consolidated and developed. The Chinese people, together with the peoples of the other Asian and African countries, must continue to work for the thorough implementation of the resolutions of the Conference, averting the danger of war and safeguarding collective peace.

(May 13, 1955)

APPENDICES

LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Djakarta, 15th January, 1955

Mr. Prime Minister,

At the Conference of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Indonesia, held at Bogor on the 28th and the 29th of December, 1954, it was agreed that an Asian-African Conference be convened in April 1955.

The Conference will be jointly sponsored by the Governments of the five countries mentioned above, the Government of Indonesia being given the honour of acting as host on their behalf. The sponsoring Governments have decided that the Conference, which may last approximately a week from the 18th to the 24th April, 1955, be held at Bandung.

As for the purposes and other particulars of the Asian-African Conference, I refer Your Excellency to the Memorandum, which I have the honour to enclose for your consideration. I should particularly like to draw Your Excellency's attention to our general approach to the Conference as set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Memorandum. The Conference itself will determine its own procedure and agenda.

Trusting that the information contained in the Memorandum will give Your Excellency a sufficiently clear picture of the purpose and the nature of the Asian-African Conference, I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors of the Conference, to invite Your Excellency's Government, in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Memorandum, to send its representatives to it.

The sponsors of the Conference would appreciate it greatly if Your Excellency would kindly inform me of the decision regarding the participation of Your Excellency's Government in the Conference as early as possible, preferably before the middle of February next.

If, as I very much hope, Your Excellency's Government decides to participate, I should be grateful if you would at the same time kindly inform me of the number of persons who will form the delegation of your Government, to enable me to make the necessary arrangements for their accommodation etc.

The Joint Secretariat set up at Djakarta will furnish further details connected with the Conference from time to time, and such additional particulars as may be required by those participating.

Allow me to take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency of my highest consideration.

His Excellency the Prime Minister of the
People's Republic of China
Peking

Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo
Prime Minister of Indonesia.

Enclosure:

MEMORANDUM

1. At the Conference which was held at Bogor on the 28th and 29th of December, 1954, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan agreed that an Asian-African Conference be held under their joint sponsorship. They also reached agreement on all consequential matters.

2. The purposes of the Asian-African Conference would be:

(a) to promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;

(b) to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;

(c) to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;

(d) to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

3. The Conference will meet in Indonesia in April 1955. The Government of Indonesia have agreed to

make the necessary arrangements for this Conference on behalf of the sponsoring countries. A Joint Secretariat representing the sponsoring countries has been set up in Indonesia.

4. The Prime Ministers agreed that the Conference should have a broad and geographical basis, and that all countries in Asia and Africa, which have independent governments, should be invited. With minor variations and modifications of this basic principle, they decided to invite the following countries:

1. Afghanistan
2. Cambodia
3. Central African Federation
4. China
5. Egypt
6. Ethiopia
7. Gold Coast
8. Iran
9. Iraq
10. Japan
11. Jordan
12. Laos
13. Lebanon
14. Liberia
15. Libya
16. Nepal
17. Philippines
18. Saudi Arabia
19. Sudan
20. Syria
21. Thailand
22. Turkey
23. Viet-Nam (North)
24. Viet-Nam (South)
25. Yemen

The above 25 countries will, it is hoped, participate in the Conference, together with the five sponsoring countries, namely Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan.

5. Representation at the Conference will be at Ministerial level and it is hoped that each country invited will

be represented by its Prime Minister and/or Foreign Minister, together with such other representatives as each government might wish to include in its delegation.

6. Due to limited accommodation facilities and the number of countries which are expected to participate, the necessity of limiting the size of the delegations to the minimum will have to be faced. A further communication on this aspect of the Conference from the Joint Secretariat will follow.

7. The Conference will determine its own procedure and agenda, the general scope of which is set out in the purposes of the Conference.

8. The Prime Ministers wished to point out that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any other country. It implied only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the Conference. They had also borne in mind the principle that the form of government and the way of life of any one country should in no way be subject to interference by another. Any view expressed at the Conference by one or more participating country or countries would not be binding on or be regarded as accepted by any other, unless the latter so desired. The basic purpose of the Conference is that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view. The Prime Ministers hoped that this clarification would enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation.

9. The Prime Ministers desired to state that in seeking to convene an Asian-African Conference, they

were not actuated by any desire for exclusiveness in respect of the membership of the Conference. They did not desire either that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc.

Djakarta, 15 January, 1955

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S TELEGRAM TO ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA, CONCERNING CHINA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE INVITATION TO ATTEND THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Premier,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of invitation dated January 15, 1955 by which Your Excellency, on behalf of the five sponsoring countries, namely Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Indonesia, invites the People's Republic of China to participate in the Asian-African Conference, together with the enclosed Memorandum concerning the purposes and the nature of the Asian-African Conference.

The Asian-African Conference is the first of its kind in history convened to promote goodwill and co-operation among the countries of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations. The convocation of this Conference reflects the great changes which have taken place in recent times in this part of the world, and also reflects the ever stronger desire of the Asian and African countries to take their destiny into their own hands and to enter, on an equal footing, into friendly co-operation with other countries of the world. The convocation of this Conference also affords a good opportunity for making it possible for the

Asian and African countries with different social systems to coexist in peace under the principle that the form of government and the way of life of any one country should in no way be subject to interference by another, and also for these countries to make contributions towards the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

The Government of the People's Republic of China is in agreement with the purposes of the Asian-African Conference, and feels honoured to have the opportunity to work for these purposes together with the other Asian and African countries. The Government of the People's Republic of China has decided, in response to the invitation, to send a delegation to attend the Asian-African Conference to be held at Bandung of your country on April 18, 1955.

As to the number of persons who will form the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I shall inform Your Excellency as early as possible.

Excellency, please allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, initiator, sponsor and host of the Asian-African Conference, of my highest considerations.

His Excellency Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo
of the Republic of Indonesia

Chou En-lai,
Premier of the State Council and Minister
for Foreign Affairs of the People's
Republic of China

Peking, February 10, 1955

FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Held at Bandung from 18th to 24th April, 1955

The Asian-African Conference, convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, met in Bandung from the 18th to the 24th April, 1955. In addition to the five sponsoring countries the following 24 countries participated in the Conference:

1. Afghanistan.
2. Cambodia.
3. The People's Republic of China.
4. Egypt.
5. Ethiopia.
6. Gold Coast.
7. Iran.
8. Iraq.
9. Japan.
10. Jordan.
11. Laos.
12. Lebanon.
13. Liberia.
14. Libya.
15. Nepal.
16. The Philippines.
17. Saudi Arabia.
18. Sudan.
19. Syria.
20. Thailand.
21. Turkey.
22. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.
23. The State of Viet-Nam.
24. Yemen.

The Asian-African Conference considered problems of common interest and concern to countries of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their people could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

A. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

1. The Asian-African Conference recognized the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. The proposals with regard to economic co-operation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for co-operation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital. It was further recognized that the assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region, through international or under bilateral arrangements, had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

2. The participating countries agreed to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: experts, trainees, pilot projects and equipment for demonstration purposes; exchange of know-how and establishment of national, and where possible, regional training and research institutes

for imparting technical knowledge and skills in co-operation with the existing international agencies.

3. The Asian-African Conference recommended: the early establishment of the special United Nations fund for economic development; the allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries; the early establishment of the international finance corporation which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and encouragement to the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest.

4. The Asian-African Conference recognized the vital need for stabilizing commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognized that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

5. The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements, and that as far as practicable and desirable, they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations permanent advisory commission on international commodity trade and other international forums.

6. The Asian-African Conference further recommended that: Asian-African countries should diversify

their export trade by processing their raw material, wherever economically feasible, before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for transit trade of land-locked countries.

7. The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates, often to the detriment of the participating countries. It recommended a study of this problem, and collective action thereafter, to induce the shipping lines to adopt a more reasonable attitude. It was suggested that a study of railway freight of transit trade may be made.

8. The Asian-African Conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.

9. The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might eventually lead to the formulation of common policies.

10. The Asian-African Conference emphasized the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, for the Asian-African countries. The Conference welcomed the initiative of the Powers principally concerned in offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; urged the speedy establishment

of the International Atomic Energy Agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the Agency; and recommended to the Asian and African Governments to take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programmes.

11. The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of Liaison Officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national Governments, for the exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest. It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organizations, and participating countries who were not members of such international organizations, but were eligible, should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

B. CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

1. The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations which have enriched others' cultures and civilization while themselves being

enriched in the process. Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating Governments at the Conference reiterated their determination to work for closer cultural co-operation.

2. The Asian-African Conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa in whatever form it may be not only prevents cultural co-operation but also suppresses the national cultures of the people. Some colonial powers have denied to their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples. This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed. Similar discrimination has been practised against African and coloured people in some parts of the continent of Africa. The Conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural co-operation on the wider international plane. The Conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and

culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression.

In particular, the Conference condemned racialism as a means of cultural suppression.

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilizations and cultures that the Conference viewed the development of cultural co-operation among Asian and African countries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural co-operation should be developed in the larger context of world co-operation.

Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural co-operation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

4. There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions. The Conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions. Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people in Africa to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural co-operation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

(1) The acquisition of knowledge of each other's country, (2) mutual cultural exchange, and (3) exchange of information.

6. The Asian-African Conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural co-operation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own, wherever possible and feasible.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

1. The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a prerequisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights.

2. The Asian-African Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man.

The Conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustain their cause; reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

D. PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1. The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation.

The Conference is agreed:

(A) In declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

(B) In affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation;

(C) In declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and

(D) In calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

E. OTHER PROBLEMS

1. In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

2. The Asian-African Conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the abolition of colonialism, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian based on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The Asian-African Conference urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations as soon as possible, to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations would assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.

3. The Asian-African Conference supported the position of Yemen in the case of Aden and the southern parts of Yemen known as the Protectorates, and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

F. PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

1. The Asian-African Conference, taking note of the fact that several States have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective co-operation for world peace, membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those States which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter. In the opinion of the Asian-African Conference, the following among participating countries, viz: Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, a unified Viet-Nam were so qualified.

The Conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council, so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Asian-African Conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction.

It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty towards humanity and civilization to proclaim their support for disarmament and for the prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion, to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

The Conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition and that speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end.

Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, this Conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

The Conference declared that universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace and requested the United Nations to continue its efforts and appealed to all concerned speedily to bring about

the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments, including the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction, and to establish effective international control to this end.

G. DECLARATION ON PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

The Asian-African Conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and co-operation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection, all States should co-operate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and

their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.

4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6. (A) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

(B) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means

of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.

10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

The Asian and African Conference declares its conviction that friendly co-operation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security while co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

The Asian-African Conference recommended that the five sponsoring countries consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference, in consultation with the participating countries.

Bandung
24 April, 1955.